1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1804. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Henshaw observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Linge, *The Navajos*, 84 et seq. In 1829 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mahahoes." Four days travel up the San Juan River, this was "distant 50 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 130, 141.)

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114 131 174 refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the Ukeyápá, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Picacho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them. In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[5] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 326. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1880*, I, 84.

[2] Bandelier, 4a, 5, 10b.

[3] Sitgreaves, 10; 11, 14, 15, 16; Cosnos, 10b.

[4] Whipple, 66. He says Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whereas they were said to range to the foothills of the Rio Virgen and the Colorado.

[5] Beale, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70.

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Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] Ibid., 79, 88, 89. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's drawn-horse had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 105, 101, 108, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizonans.

[3] *A Yuman Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (n. c).

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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *Axasáwaipa*, blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *ká'nisa*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[2] They call the Walapai *Pulpimpapi* or *puehpaid;* the Yavapai, *tiedhud* (enemy) or *nyúvipa*[3]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjé;* the Navaho, *hua'dzá'u;* the Hopi, *wókki;* the Zuñi, *ad'u'á;* the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamókwa;* the Paiute, *paiutia;* and, by my recollection, the Ute, *pádu* and the Pima, *palapd.*[4]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[5] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[6] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[7]; in 1869 there were 300[8]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[9], and Coues, 214[10];

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[1] Von Kate, (1), xxx, gives Kuchaikwa or Kuchainkwa (yellow-eat people ?) as the Zuñi name. This might be explained as dja, eat, and kapkpi, black, or kapi, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black sun.

[2] See p. 239 for the composition of population.

[3] Coues, 243.

[4] Coues, 238.

[5] *Handbook of American Indians,* I, 926.

[6] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology,* 1881, XVIII.

[7] Coues, 243.

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in 1897, less than 300[3]; 1899, 261[4]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs. (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 *yrs.* (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[5] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[6] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[7]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[8] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[3] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 191; 1897, 163; 1898, 300; 1905, I, 164; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[4] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[5] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 208). When the mothers are principally old women, as in the case, the figure is too high, for some in reaching to observe the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the cases where the latter survive than the elder. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their survival.)
[6] Hrdlička, (a), 413.
[7] A peculiar configuration of the wheels of the ear is common.
[8] Garcés, 341; Cushing, 346; Smart, 418.
[9] See also Spier (d).

Bojames T-6 (ca. 1900) 1903
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dwelling style of homes. My friend Wa-lu-tha-ma is forsaking his wood and brush "hawas," and constructing a house under the cliffs, where, as he quaintly puts it, he can "keep dry when much rain comes."

It seems to me a reasonable supposition that it was from the frequency of the occurrence of these corn-houses in the walls of Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, with the occasional appearance of a few of the larger houses used as dwellings by the Havasupais, that the absurd and romantic yarns had their origin that fifteen, or less, years ago, were current in Arizona and elsewhere about this interesting people. The cowboys, miners, prospectors, and others, who accidentally stumbled upon the upper entrance to the Havasu Canyon, and wandered down its meandering course for ten or forty miles, even to the village of the simple Havasupais, returned to civilization and propagated and circulated stories that out-Munchausened Munchausen. They said these people were cliff-dwellers, living at the present day in the walls of the canyon; they were of powerful physical presence, and possessed great endurance. Their fields and gardens were wonderful, and their peach orchards surpassed those of most civilised cultivation, and they held in slavery a lesser people, dwarfs or pigmies, doubtless, who were cliff-dwellers like themselves, and whom they compelled by great cruelty to perform the most arduous labors.

Others, having heard these stories, but whose spirit of adventure took them no farther than the "rim" of the canyon, claimed to have looked into the village and side canyons, and there seen the truth of these stories demonstrated. They had seen the pigmies and the gigantic Havasupais, had heard the harsh yells of the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [857]

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 317) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Ranchería tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona.

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred.

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees.

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color.

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people).

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman.

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians.

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties.

For several years following the establishment of the reservation

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
646 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
179 and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
645 either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[597] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now
[598] they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
284 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
283 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
646 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suppression of crematory activities also began soon after the
745 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
646 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

178 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable.

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos.

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain.

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors'

7;Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better in turn to inquiries of another sort.

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The published account of Havasupai ethnography contains a large number of distribution studies covering as many items as comparative material made possible. These distributions spread in all directions from our center. The significance of this is contained in our often repeated assertion that a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture. In the case of the Havasupai we may go so far as to deny them any originality, for there is perhaps not a single trait for which analogues may not be found somewhere in the vicinity. Yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits.

A specific example of this is to be found in women's dress. This is comprised of two aprons; the one in front long, from breast to ankles, and hung about the neck like a butcher's apron, that behind hanging from waist to ankles. The front apron is a deer hide retaining its natural contours, with the neck skin turned down in front to form a yoke. With these a brief apron is worn under the long front piece. The peculiar form of this front apron becomes intelligible only when we consider the distribution of other types of garments in adjoining areas. To the east we have, apart from Pueblo women's dress, the long dress of the Plains tribes comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part (here the tail skin) turned down to form decorative flaps or yokes front and back. This dress in orthodox form is distributed as far west as Navaho, Jicarilla, Mimbreños Apache, and Kaibab Paiute. To the west and north women wear a short apron or two of skin or cords pendent from the belt. This fashion prevails as far east as Apache-Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and possibly the Western Apache and Mescalero. It appears to me that the ancient western style known to Havasupai, two short aprons, has been influenced by the Plains form. The front apron has in effect been lengthened and the upper part turned down to form a decorative yoke. It is immaterial that this is hung by a band around the neck, for unless the back apron had been similarly lengthened some such device was necessary. This,

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

9:Emerich E-8 (1955)1964 NT14 Plateau Tomato NT14
Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerich

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Cosninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

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101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kotŧunina, which, they say, is from kohu, wood, and nina, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

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133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the
197 parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

●174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-
144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

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The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

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Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ʔ°bâ°djih.

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The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.